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Abstract of Proceedings
at the
Unemployment Conference
held in
The Governor's Reception Room
Harrisburg
Thursday, May 26, 1932

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ABSTRACT OF THE MORNING SESSION OF UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE IN THE GOVERNOR'S RECEPTION ROOM.
HARRISBURG, THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1932.

Governor Pinchot called the meeting to order at 10:00 A. M. Eastern Standard Time, and expressed his appreciation for the large attendance. He emphasized the points upon which information was particularly desired as:

1. The extent of suffering from unemployment in the various localities and in the State as a whole.
2. The resources now available and the length of time they will last.
3. Other resources that could be made available, such as unexhausted powers of taxation and borrowing.
4. Measures which an extra session of the Legislature might consider or enact. He urged members of the conference to confine themselves to these topics and set a limit of five minutes for each speaker.

"A good many details are in the possession of the administration which could be called for," said the Governor, "but it seemed to me much wiser for the administration to listen to you rather than for you to listen to us. You have come here to give us information as to the situation in your own localities and not to hear the information we have already. I am asking the members of the administration, except in answer to questions or in any discussion which may arise, to hold their fire until everybody else has been heard."

Mr. Horatio Gates Lloyd, of the Unemployment Relief Committee, Philadelphia, was asked to open the discussion. Mr. Lloyd stated that so far there had been comparatively little suffering in Philadelphia because the Unemployment Committee had been able to get together funds to care for the unemployed. But these funds, which were raised last Fall, were practically exhausted by the 11th of April, and the Talbot fund will be exhausted by the 25th of June. Both these funds have been expended at the rate of an average grant per family of \$4.25 a week. His Committee feels that it cannot raise any further substantial amounts of money from private contributions. There are no further sources of funds to look to.

Mr. Lloyd estimated that, if an extra session of the Legislature is held, it should pass legislation permitting Philadelphia the use of at least \$1,500,000 a month for an indefinite period. He sees no sign of a let-up in the need. Unemployment has increased by 25,000 in Philadelphia in the last month, going from 298,000 to 323,000 between March 15th and April 15th. 36.3% of the working population is wholly unemployed, while 25% are partially employed. The total number of families receiving aid in Philadelphia is 55,747.

Rev. James R. Cox, St. Patrick's Church, Pittsburgh, was the next speaker. Father Cox spoke of the necessity for considering human rights rather than property rights and the multi-millionaire class. He warned of the danger of revolution within another winter unless some definite relief is offered soon to the thousands of desperate men and women such as those he and his agency are caring for in the section of Pittsburgh called Shantytown. He and his group are giving 6,000 baskets a week and clothing more than 100 persons a day. "When I think of the dreadful fiasco of that last special session," he said, "I hesitate to urge another unless the Governor has assurance of the people back of him. God help us if something isn't done!"

Mr. Carter Taylor, Director of the Harrisburg Welfare Federation, Harrisburg, said that his city was in a very different situation from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh inasmuch as it still had credit and resources upon which it might draw.

Dauphin County spent on relief, in April of this year, three times the amount spent in the same month a year ago. The Welfare Federation is unable to see any basis for anticipating an early upswing in employment and expects family relief needs to be heavier next winter than ever before.

Mr. Taylor called attention to the financial plight of the state-aided hospitals and of the Mothers' Aid Fund under the recent 24.16% cut in State allotment of funds and urged that not only must the money thus cut be quickly restored but also means should be found to increase the appropriation for Mothers' Aid work.

He felt that while Dauphin County might possibly take care of its own problems, local resistance to any increase in the tax levy might be very strong. He stressed the opinion that care of the unemployed is primarily a public responsibility and should not be borne entirely by privately supported organizations.

Mr. Taylor urged a special session of the Legislature to consider increased appropriations to hospitals and other institutions, to increase the allotments for Mothers' Aid and to provide food and shelter for the unemployed for next Fall and Winter.

Mrs. W. Irwin Cheyney, Director of the Poor of Delaware County, Media, emphasized the danger inherent in the situation. In Delaware County public agencies are cooperating with private agencies in the disbursement of the unemployment fund. There are 2,674 families on the list receiving a maximum grant of \$5.00 a week for a family as high as 12, with smaller families receiving proportionately smaller sums. This provides only for food with no provision for rent, clothing, electric light, gas or water. The load is increasing and it is expected that at least 10,000 people must be cared for next winter. The county has resorted to increased taxation for resources, requisitioning \$600,000 by a 2½ mill levy on the first of January. Back taxes are owed to the extent of \$218,000, while the Poor Board is in debt \$135,000 for unpaid bills. She could see no possible hope for the future except by State relief.

Mr. S. C. Kingsley, of the Welfare Federation, Philadelphia, remarked on the clarifying of the situation by the Attorney General's clear statement of a day or two previous concerning the abatement of State aid to hospitals, Mothers' Assistance, homes, etc., necessitated by the preferment of the money expended under the Talbot Act. In Philadelphia this situation takes away \$405,000 from hospitals and homes in the Welfare Federation. He estimated that all the hospitals in Philadelphia together would operate on a million dollar deficit this year. Although the 118 organizations in the Welfare Federation will be able to get along until November 1st on the money raised in the successful campaign last Fall, they are operating without a dollar leeway so that, when the avalanche breaks of the 50,000 families Mr. Lloyd's Committee has been taking care of, it is impossible to predict what will happen. Mr. Kingsley re-emphasized the general demand for disinterested, broad-spirited public action necessary for the Legislature if it convenes in special session.

Mr. William B. Harvey, Chairman of the Chester County Unemployment Committee, Westtown, said that although his county is generally considered a farming community conditions there are worse now than they were last winter, particularly in industrial centers such as Coatesville, Parkesburg and Phoenixville.

A recent estimate of unemployed in the county is 12,336. The county is well organized with full cooperation between the relief agencies and the Directors of the Poor. The Community Chest drive last Fall in West Chester was successful and, with the aid of the Talbot money, it is expected that the county can hold out until Autumn.

Mr. Harvey described the food distribution system in force in Chester County. Every day two 2-ton trucks of food are sent out from the County Home all over the county. Food for distribution to the poor is all bought at wholesale rates. He stated that although there is no actual suffering in Chester County it now appears that probably 90% of the industrial workers will have to be cared for by public funds next winter. *Mr. Harvey* felt that an extra session of the Legislature should be called only if there is some assurance of real cooperation on the part of the members with the Governor's desire for relief.

Mr. H. M. Willis, Chairman of the Erie County Unemployment Committee, Erie, stressed, as had the speakers before him, the continuing increase in unemployment month by month. Directors of the Poor in Erie County have outstanding bills of \$150,000. They estimate their expenses for the next eight months at \$742,000.

The Community Chest and Family Service Funds are practically exhausted. A recent meeting of Judges, Directors of the Poor, County Commissioners, and representatives of the Civic Relief Association estimated that \$720,000 would be needed for the balance of the year, but the need has increased since then and it is now estimated that over \$800,000 will be required before the beginning of 1933. With the borrowing and taxing powers of Erie County practically exhausted the responsible authorities feel that the only solution lies in the agreement of leaders of the various political factions upon a program before the convening of a special session of the Legislature.

Mr. Seibert L. Witman, Director of the Berks County Unemployment Committee, Reading, and representing also the Directors of the Poor of Berks County, told of only 40% full-time employment in the manufacturing and industrial plants of his county. 30% of the workers are entirely unemployed and 30% on a part-time basis. 3,400 families are being cared for with an expenditure for relief of \$86,000 per month.

A fund of \$400,000 was raised last December by public subscription and by appropriation of the County Commissioners and City Council. \$150,000 of this fund was used for the building of a mountain-side road, the work employing 1,100 men. *Mr. Witman* stated that it is his belief that it is always better to help a man by work relief if possible. This \$400,000 fund, as well as the County \$255,000 share of the Talbot fund, will all be exhausted by the first of August. Estimating conservatively, \$473,000 additional will be needed to take care of the present unemployed for the balance of the year.

"In addition to that," said *Mr. Witman*, "we are going to feel the effects of reduction of hospitals while our load is increasing in caring for the health of the people." In urging the calling of a special session *Mr. Witman* observed

that, with half the people in the State standing and the other half flat on their backs, we must either make a definite effort to pull the recumbent portion of our population to its feet or else they will pull the rest of us all down to their level.

Mr. John A. Phillips, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, spoke of the importance of determining the manner in which a sufficient amount of money can be raised to meet the needs of the situation. In principle, he said, the Federation of Labor is not in favor of a sales tax although it feels that in an emergency of this sort there is perhaps no other way in which money can be quickly raised. Therefore it suggests a possible additional tax on gasoline or on selected commodities.

"Beyond that," Mr. Phillips said, "we are altogether sold on the idea that we are facing an extraordinary condition of affairs which requires extraordinary treatment. For that reason we have again proposed an income tax bill which was introduced in the special session of the Legislature. That bill proposes a flat tax of 5% on all residents of the State. It carries what is called a 'Prompt Payment Rebate' up to a maximum of \$500 and in effect would clear all incomes below \$10,000. After having canvassed the situation from all angles, we are firmly convinced that there is no other means available through which any adequate sum of money can be raised to meet this emergency."

Mr. Charles D. Rockel, of the Emergency Relief, Altoona, reported 2,500 unemployed in Altoona. This figure has little meaning, however, when it is realized that of the 11,000 men working in the railroad shops none of them get more than six days a month and many of them two days a month. With the reorganization now taking place in the Pennsylvania Railroad, work is getting progressively less and less. The \$111,000 raised by public subscription is now entirely gone and if it were not for the Talbot money 9,000 people dependent on public funds would be starving.

City Council, having already borrowed to capacity, cannot appropriate any money and the Directors of the Poor are already deeply in debt. The Central Bureau of Charities is about ready to disband because of lack of funds. With other private relief agencies in a similar condition, raising money locally is impossible. Funds will last only to the first of July with the greatest of economy.

Mr. Rockel emphasized the desperation that comes to men almost more from lack of work than from lack of food. "The danger is" he said, "they have nothing to do to take away the bitterness of charity."

Mr. Hale Steinman, of the Lancaster Welfare Federation, Lancaster, remarked that not by doles but only by some constructive work on the part of the Legislature could the fundamental condition be touched. Lancaster is now spending \$17,000 a month in caring for twice as many unemployed as in the same period last year. Funds, including the Talbot money, should last until December 1st, but this will care for only 1,314 families in the City of Lancaster and does not include the rest of the county.

Mr. Dwight W. Weist, of the Community Welfare Federation, Scranton, presented a request for State assistance to the County Commissioners to build State roads in order that men might be put to work for the rest of the summer. The situation in Lackawanna County is complicated by the differences in con-

ditions between the larger cities and the smaller boroughs, which are dependent entirely upon closed coal mines. In the city of Scranton and Dunmore, the Poor Board expects to be able to carry through the balance of the year with their own funds and the Talbot funds assisted by a liberal supply of Government flour. Community Chest funds are still available but are being rapidly depleted.

Although Scranton feels it might possibly keep going without an extra session of the Legislature, the boroughs up and down the valley, representing half the county's population, do not have relief organizations and are in desperate need. They have twenty-three small poor districts trying to serve them. This is a situation which in time, Mr. Wiest hopes, will be corrected with a County Welfare System for Lackawanna County.

Reverend Eleazer Davies, of the Taylor Welfare Association, Taylor, also in Lackawanna County, gave a picture of small communities depending entirely on coal mines which are no longer operating. In a canvass in the borough of Taylor, made in September 1931, there was found to be unemployment of 64% among the 2,216 families visited. By May 1932 this unemployment had increased to 73%.

"Yesterday afternoon," Reverend Davies said, "the last picture I saw of our borough building before I left for this town was about a hundred men trying to seek admission to the Borough Building where the Talbot money is distributed. Since last Thursday between four and five hundred men have been relieved by that Talbot money every day, and some of them in order to be there early in the morning, sleep there outside the Borough Building to be the first in the queue in the morning when the man comes to pay."

Mr. John L. Stewart, of the Social Agencies of Washington County, Washington, predicted that, with the aid of the Talbot money, this county's relief work would be provided for until some time in December or possibly the first of January. He described the gardening project which has been undertaken in Washington County. \$30,000 of the Talbot money has been spent for laying out 11,000 gardens which are expected to produce revenue in food supplies of about \$200,000. \$2.25 cares for a plot 150 x 250 ft.

Although there are about 8,500 unemployed in Washington County, 1,500 of whom have been added in the last two weeks, and though the resources of private relief agencies have entirely dried up, Mr. Stewart felt that, with the help of the garden projects, the Talbot fund and the flour received from the Federal Government, Washington County could complete the year without further relief.

Mr. E. Arthur Sweeney, of the Unemployment Committee of Westmoreland County, Greensburg, told of the disagreements encountered in his county between the relief organizations and the Poor Directors. With 9,000 families receiving relief and 36,000 unemployed, the funds of all the local welfare organizations will be exhausted by the first of July.

There is grave difference of opinion in the matter of distribution of the \$280,000 of Talbot money. Unless this is straightened out a number of welfare organizations will have to close soon as they feel they cannot go before the people and ask for additional funds with public money on hand. If the Talbot money is properly distributed, however, it should last until October or November.

Mr. Sweeny was delegated by representatives of all the welfare organizations of the county to bear the message that Westmoreland County would favor a special session of the Legislature. He added that the hospitals are facing grave difficulties in caring for the additional cases thrown on them at this time.

Mrs. R. Allison Miller, of Huntingdon County American Red Cross, Huntingdon, outlined a problem similar to that described by Mr. Sweeny. She spoke of difficulty in receiving aid from the Poor Directors of the County, who are requiring families of 10 or 11 to live on \$10.00 a month. Private agencies have spent \$18,000 on relief this year and have distributed eight or nine car loads of Government flour. Mrs. Miller felt that pressure should be brought to bear on the Poor Boards to make them feel their responsibility to the people in time of need.

Mr. John Reid, of the Unemployment Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, Oil City, Venango County, read a report written by the Secretary of the Unemployment Relief Committee of his county. He described the work relief project that has been operating in Oil City since the Fall of 1930. A \$137,000 fund was raised by contributions from industrial plants and employed persons to be used under a rotating plan to "keep the men contented through employment" on city or county work at a rate of \$3.00 a day for eight hours' work. 1,430 men have been given employment under this plan with 647 applicants who have received no work. This fund for work relief will be exhausted by the 10th of June and the limit of private relief has been reached.

The last fund raised by the Community Chest, part of which was used to aid the hospitals and other institutions carrying charity cases, is entirely gone.

Mr. Reid read also a short report from Franklin, the other industrial city of Venango County, describing a plan of work relief similar to that in Oil City but on a smaller scale.

Dr. J. M. Smith, President of the Hospital Association of Pennsylvania, Hahnemann Hospital, Philadelphia, told of the increase of 25% in free work in 161 state-aided hospitals in the last two years. The income of the hospitals from all sources is progressively decreasing, while the recent decision that State aid to the hospitals should be abated in the amount of \$1,750,000 for the remainder of this biennium means a cut of 37% in State funds for this period. Every cent of this money thus taken away, stated Dr. Smith, is reducing the possibility of the hospitals caring for the sick poor; and there are undoubtedly hospitals throughout the State that will have to close if the cut is not restored.

"To deprive the healthy poor is a serious thing," said Dr. Smith, "but if you think about depriving the sick poor of hospital care, it is still more serious. Many hospitals throughout the State are actually going beyond their own province and extending family relief. We also have the problem of many persons who are ready to leave the hospitals but who have no place to go, no home. Our hospitals have a serious problem in taking care of those and getting them out of the hospitals so they will not keep out others who are sick. We request the restoration of the hospital appropriation at as early a date as possible."

Governor Pinchot expressed his gratification that Dr. Smith had brought up this point, as there seems to be some misapprehension and a feeling that somebody can restore the hospital appropriation which has been taken away by the Supreme Court. The Governor requested Attorney General Schnader to make a statement on this matter for the enlightenment of those present.

Mr. Schnader, speaking of his recent published opinion on the necessity for reducing non-preferred State appropriations because of the expenditure of funds under the Talbot Act, said, "That opinion is not pulled out of the air, but was simply an application of figures to the Supreme Court's interpretation of Article 9 Section 4 of the Constitution. The Auditor General and the State Treasurer concurred in the conclusion of the Secretary of Revenue that we did not have the cash, the revenue with which to pay all of our appropriations in full for this biennium. The Supreme Court said if that was so the non-preferred appropriations will have to go. The Court made the statement and the Talbot Act had repealed appropriations to the extent of \$10,000,000, or what was necessary to balance the budget.

"All that remained was to determine the preferred and non-preferred appropriation, figure the percentage in which the non-preferred appropriation must be cut, and that is what was done. That cannot be corrected or restored by the Governor or anyone else, but only by the Legislature itself, unless I entirely misapprehend the plain English of the Supreme Court decision."

The meeting adjourned for a noon recess.

ABSTRACT OF THE AFTERNOON SESSION OF UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE IN THE GOVERNOR'S RECEPTION ROOM. HARRISBURG, THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1932.

Governor Pinchot called the meeting to order and called upon Mr. Jacob Billikopf, Executive Director of the Federation of Jewish Charities, Philadelphia.

Mr. Billikopf referred to the Governor's definite interest in the tragedy of unemployment long ago "at a time when it was highly unfashionable to say any of the things that are said today." He expressed himself as concerned chiefly with the matter of what support could be gotten from "the people whose support means more than anything else"—in short, the leaders of the political organizations of the State. He spoke of conferring, on the previous day, with Mr. Edwin R. Cox and Mr. James M. Hazlett, both powerful in Philadelphia political life, and reported that these two men, representing their constituents, have by now arrived at a thorough awareness of the situation and of the dire need not only of the City of Philadelphia but also of the State as a whole. These men, according to Mr. Billikopf, are now pledging themselves to cooperate with the Governor to the fullest extent in working for a relief program.

Mr. Billikopf stressed the importance of holding immediately another conference to be made up of political leaders who would pledge themselves to discuss dispassionately various suggestions and programs to make up a workable program for submission to the Legislature.

Mr. I. J. Stock, of the Welfare Association, Shenandoah, described the plight of a region whose principle industry is anthracite coal mining where many of the mines have been idle for 18 months. Last March the Welfare Association

tion tried to raise \$35,000 in a drive and succeeded in obtaining only \$8,500. It has been furnishing "necessities of life" to approximately 800 families or almost 3,500 people at a cost of \$1.13 a family per week. The dispensing of foodstuffs has now temporarily been discontinued.

The Directors of the Poor of Schuylkill County estimate that \$180,000 will be needed to care for 5,000 families for 12 weeks at a cost of \$3.00 per family per week. All single men are eliminated from relief in Schuylkill County.

Mr. Stock spoke of the plight of property owners who can obtain no rent at all from tenants who are receiving relief, and urged that some means be found at the proposed special session to compensate the owners of real estate.

Mr. B. T. Root, of the Welfare Federation, York, told of about 2,300 families who are receiving relief in York County. Only about 200 of these can be taken care of by private agencies, whose funds are practically exhausted. The rest have been turned over to the Poor Board, which expects to have a deficit of \$100,000 by the end of the year, having already borrowed money and having bills dating back to 1931 for which the grocers are clamoring. The County Commissioners have advanced \$80,000 on the 1932 taxes which are not yet due.

Mr. Root said that the hospital in York, which is furnishing free service this year to the amount of about \$170,000, will have at least \$50,000 deficit at the end of the year.

"We are thinking in terms of meeting relief needs all over the State," said Mr. Root. "I think we want to give serious thought also to the method of administering that relief in the various counties. I am here as a representative of the Welfare Federation. We have no control now over the administration of that relief. The County Poor Board of elective officials with no particular ability or training administers the relief fund. Its administration depends entirely upon a group, at least in our County, such as our County Poor Board. My own opinion is that members of that County Poor Board are doing the best they can under their limitations, but I believe if there was a different administration of that relief we could probably make a dollar go a great deal further than it does at the present time."

Mr. Leon P. Bennett, President of Cambria County Poor Board, Johnstown, said that of the 203,000 people in his county over 20% are being totally kept by relief agencies. Now, however, most of these agencies are being forced to go out of business and the Poor Board is bearing the bulk of the work.

The steel industry of Cambria County has just passed through a period of retrenchment, laying off 1,900 men. 2,000 more men are scheduled to be laid off in the immediate future. The unemployment situation in Cambria County is not of recent origin but dates back for five years so that by now resources are entirely exhausted. Not only have practically all the welfare agencies ceased to exist but there is danger now that the Poor Board itself may have to close its doors by August 1st, unless Cambria County can receive assistance from the State or Nation. "I hope," Mr. Bennett concluded, "I will not live to see the day when those doors close because it will be a day of turmoil and revolution and a scar on the history of the State."

Mr. Thomas Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers of America, Hazleton, agreed with Mr. Billikopf in feeling that the most important question was to

ascertain in advance "if we can reasonably expect any constructive action from the Legislature when it is called. It is my candid opinion after going through the last special session that we can expect very little above the Talbot Bill, unless we back in the various counties impress upon our representatives in the Legislature the necessity of doing something that will really get at the needs of the situation. At the last special session we were opposed to the Talbot Bill on the ground that it was not sufficient and did not meet the needs of the emergency in this State. Therefore there is necessity of outlining a proposition that the Legislature will enact that would really solve our problems in a reasonable way with respect to relief in Pennsylvania at least until the next regular session in January."

Mr. Kennedy dealt also upon the importance of deciding upon the nature of the taxation to be considered. He stressed particularly the idea of a manufacturing tax. He told of growing unemployment in the coal mining industries in Pennsylvania, with 52,000 men idle in the anthracite counties and about 100,000 in the bituminous regions. An extra session, he felt, is absolutely necessary in order to provide not charity or dole but adequate relief.

Mrs. Percy C. Madeira, Jr., of the Public Charities Association and State Welfare Commission, Philadelphia, read a statement from Dr. Charles H. Frazier, President of the Public Charities Association. Dr. Frazier's statement stressed the necessity of a special session to meet the necessity of further taxation. He recognized the need for more efficient machinery in many counties to coordinate the efforts that are being made, as well as the necessity for cooperation between the business and political leaders of the State to prepare an acceptable program. "The Public Charities Association realizes that the situation in various counties outside of Allegheny and Philadelphia is not generally known. In fact the situation changes from week to week and from day to day. What may have been true April 1 or even May 1, is not true this morning."

The statement emphasized the value of placing men on work relief as opposed to the principle of direct relief, and urged the making of plans to promote employment for the duration of a crisis of indefinite length. The suggestion was made that it might even be advisable to consider amending the Constitution to provide that public works may be financed by a bond issue in times of emergency.

Mrs. Madeira mentioned also a memorandum prepared by Mr. Robert J. Patterson, of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, discussing the possible sources of revenue.

Mr. E. W. Hess, Chairman of the Community Chest, Clearfield, spoke of his area as one of the most desperately depressed in the State, depending as it does almost entirely on the bituminous coal mining and bricket industry, which is now practically stagnant. The County's former population of more than 112,000 is now reduced to 90,000, many people having moved away in the hope of finding work elsewhere.

A fund of \$13,000 raised by subscription last Fall was exhausted during the winter for work relief. The only resources now left in the County are Red Cross flour and part of the Talbot money. Mr. Hess pointed out that the modern life-prolonging services of public health agencies are responsible for keeping the population larger than the industries seem capable of supporting. "We older people," he said, "remember how out of a family of six, eight or

twelve it was expected that three to five would die by the will of the Lord. Now by the will of the school nurses and the rest they don't die. Where are we going to put them? * * * * * We must have a special session to help us. We believe this that in the last session when they did practically nothing; possibly the representatives of some of the very large interests were here and we were not. If we do have another session of the Legislature, let us see that our members vote right."

Mrs. Alice F. Liveright, Secretary of Welfare, rounded out Mr. Hess' picture of Clearfield County by announcing that the County Commissioners there have just announced that they must withdraw from participation in the Mothers' Assistance Fund.

Mr. Earl S. Areford, of the Fayette County Unemployment Committee, Uniontown, stated that Fayette has more unemployed men in proportion to population than any other county in the State. "Tonight in our county," he said, "Of 200,000 people there are more than 40,000 who will eat at the table something that has been given to them from charitable sources. We have more than 9,000 families needing help. On the first day of August funds of each charitable association in Fayette County and every dollar given by the Talbot Bill will have been spent." Conditions in Fayette County, he said, have been depressed for more than five years, ever since the bituminous coal industry went down. The banking situation is extremely serious, with 26 of our 34 banks in the county closed and more than \$40,000,000 of the \$65,000,000 in the banks tied up.

The Poor Board has exhausted its borrowing power and most of the charitably inclined people, who have given for five years, can no longer do so. Mr. Areford expressed the opinion that more than \$50,000,000 would be needed to carry the poor of Pennsylvania through the coming Winter. "If 20,000 people in this State would starve unless the Legislature meets," he concluded, "that is a reason why they should meet. If only a few people starve, if the Legislature could save them, it is worth the \$425,000 to call a special session. I am not in favor of asking the National Government for a dollar. I believe that this State of Pennsylvania that has spent hundreds of millions on its highways can feed its poor and provide work for those who need work."

Mr. John F. Casey, of the Emergency Association, Pittsburgh, described Allegheny County's population as entirely industrial. While there has been no actual suffering there so far, he said, due to the generosity of private gifts and the cooperation of officials, private subscriptions are no longer adequate and funds now on hand will not last beyond the middle of August. The City of Pittsburgh has authorized a bond issue of \$5,000,000 which may carry the unemployed through next Winter if no other aid is available. Taxpayer associations of the city are making insistent demands for a reduction in taxes and the Emergency Association, which fathered the bond issue, has pledged itself to efforts to prevent the inflicting of any further costs on real estate.

Mr. Casey, in view of the criticism of Poor Directors included in the testimony from other sections of the State, took occasion to commend the Poor Directors of Allegheny County for their excellent cooperation.

Mr. Casey urged, in concluding, the inclusion in the planning group of the State Administration of some experts on taxes to prepare a program that will have the backing of public sentiment.

Mr. C. H. Alspach, Director of the Welfare Federation, Reading, told of the recent Community Chest campaign in his City which fell short of its goal by 7%. He stressed particularly the need for reinstatement of the 24.16% cut from the state aid given the institutions.

Mr. Robert Dechert, President of the Community Council of Philadelphia and Vice Chairman of Committee for Unemployment Relief, Philadelphia, called attention to the need for a program of long range. Such a program should run not only until the next session or until next winter when the people will be faced again with the possibility of starving, but should last during the period of the depression. "We cannot make a temporary program," he said. "We have been suffering from that in Philadelphia, we have had one crisis after another. * * * * * One of the worst things for the community and for the Commonwealth is a result of shortsighted planning in community after community. People have been driven to the very lowest depths of living and that is going to have a permanent effect on our people. Just as there is a lost generation in Europe so we may have a lost generation here if the years of childhood are spent under such conditions."

From the interest shown by hundreds of representative citizens of Philadelphia in the recent meetings of the Community Council, Mr. Dechert felt sure that influential citizens of the State could be counted upon to support any farsighted program that might be adopted by leadership of the State.

Mr. Horace F. Baker, Pittsburgh Relief and Family Welfare, Pittsburgh, said: "It seems to me the case for an extra session has been proved overwhelmingly and that the major matters before you and the Legislature are how much money should be raised and in what way could it be raised by taxation. First we have Philadelphia saying they need \$18,000,000 for a year; Pittsburgh needs \$10,000,000; that is \$28,000,000. So the figures probably will run as much as \$50,000,000 per annum."

Mr. Philip Mathews, of the Allegheny County Emergency Association, Pittsburgh, said that of the 182,000 unemployed in his county only 30,000 are receiving relief. 4,000 of these are receiving work relief, but this work is tapering off and these men will soon be on the direct relief list unless some means is found of continuing the work program.

Allegheny County estimates that from \$9,000,000 to \$12,000,000 will be needed to carry its relief work until August 15, 1933. "We see no reason for estimating that our need will cease before that time," he said. Mr. Mathews felt that about \$60,000,000 of State funds would be required to carry the whole State during the same period.

Mr. W. F. Maxwell, of the Welfare Fund, Pittsburgh, supplemented Mr. Casey and Mr. Mathews by referring to the impossibility of private giving continuing on the generous scale it has maintained so far. He laid particular emphasis on the point that in a program of State legislation it is vitally important that a plan be included to cover the cost of administration of relief. "I don't believe it has been spoken of before," he said. "But it certainly is true in regard to the Talbot Bill money in our community, and I happen to know a similar situation exists in Philadelphia. There has been an extreme hardship in endeavoring to make available the money necessary to provide the machinery for distribution of relief. That certainly must be a part of future

plans because there can be no hope of looking to private contributions for support in the future."

Mr. Maxwell pointed out that although some sections of the State seem to be at this juncture relatively better off than others, the general trend reveals they are all taking the same steps merely at a different rate of progression and that all communities will probably progress eventually to the depression point now characterizing the work sections. "It has been the history of this emergency," he concluded, "That all of our calculations were knocked askew almost immediately. I think we realize, when we say we have 30,000 families on relief in Allegheny County, that we constantly have a potential possibility of at least doubling that load."

Mrs. Cheyney, of Delaware County, who spoke at the morning session, inquired what standard of relief was being adopted in estimating the needs for the future.

Governor Pinchot agreed that this was a most important question. "I think I heard someone say," said the Governor, "That relief was being given at the rate of \$4.25 per week for Philadelphia and \$1.13 in Shenandoah. I think Mrs. Cheyney has asked the question that goes to the heart of the whole matter. The basis of relief ought to be stated because relief is being given in many places as a matter of necessity at a rate that is far too low. I will ask future speakers to take that into account. Mrs. Liveright says her figures show 59 counties out of the 67 give less than \$5.00 a week per family."

The Governor called upon *Mr. Karl de Schweinitz*, Executive Secretary of the Community Council of Philadelphia and Secretary of the Committee for Unemployment Relief, Philadelphia, who seconded the statement *Mr. Lloyd*, also of Philadelphia, made earlier in the conference.

Reverend William J. Walsh, of the Catholic Charities, Wilkes-Barre, gave the following statistics for his community for the month of March:

"In Wilkes-Barre and surrounding towns having a population of about 250,000 people, \$158,152 was spent for relief not counting salaries or any expense of overhead. There are approximately 10,000 families receiving full time assistance from private and public organizations. 10,000 families, representing 50,000 individuals compared to a population of 250,000 would be 20% of our people on relief assistance either from public or private organizations."

The \$105,000 raised during the winter by the Community Chest was expected to carry relief organizations until the first of next December, but it is now apparent that this fund will be exhausted by the first of July. Hence private organizations have been ordered to turn their cases over to the Poor Board.

Father Walsh called attention to the disability under which property owners suffer in his community. Under the legal interpretation applied to the Poor Board a property owner applying for assistance must first sign a lien or bond against his own property which may be executed on the judgment of the Poor Board. Hence these people are now being penalized for their past industry and thrift. He referred also to the tremendous increase in free service given by the hospitals and the decreasing income from paying patients.

Father Walsh gave as his opinion that only after the political leaders of the State could be convinced of the desperate need arising from the present situation, as are the leaders gathered in the present conference, would this meeting have results of any avail. "I would suggest," he concluded, "There might be worked out a coalition program by representatives of this group and

a group representing the political factions, which program would be guaranteed passage by the Legislature and which would give some assistance to our thousands of needy persons."

Mr. Howard Richards, of the Unemployment Committee of Schuylkill County, raised a new point when he called attention to the effect the depression is having upon the health and nourishment of school children. Of 255 school children examined in his district in 1929, 23% were found to be under weight. Two years later, in 1931, 35% of the same group were found to be under weight.

Relief executives in Schuylkill County report that their money will be gone by the first of August or before. The Poor Board, which helped about 2,000 families in 1929, helped 7,812 families in 1931. They have now ceased to register any more families because there is no hope of giving relief. Mr. Richards suggested that many of the unemployed might be put to work and allowed to become self-respecting citizens if the County Commissioners had the authority to develop public lands and the land of absentee owners. He appealed for legislation that would enable the counties of Pennsylvania to retain and manage land in cooperation with the Department of Forests and Waters. "To this county work," he said, "might well be added the care of water sheds and the sale of water to municipalities, companies and individuals. Let us have county farms where self-respecting citizens can live and earn an honest living."

Father Cox now suggested that the benefits of the whole conference might be lost unless some sort of resolution were passed making an appeal to the Legislature. He recommended that such a resolution should be made and published in the newspapers. Mr. Lloyd agreed with Father Cox in this and suggested that in the preparation of the resolution mention should be made of the possibility of either a tax or a public bond program.

Governor Pinchot appointed Father Cox and Mr. Lloyd as the resolution committee. Mr. Casey, of Pittsburgh, was added to the group and they withdrew from the room to prepare the resolution.

Mrs. Leonice Shields, President of Mifflin County Poor Directors, Reedsville, spoke of the small size of her county, where speaking in terms of thousands is as significant as speaking in terms of millions in larger centers. Mifflin County has already gone to its capacity on anticipated tax returns. Their borrowing capacity has also been reached. She suggested that possibly a constitutional amendment might be enacted making it possible for the State to aid counties without the necessity of the expense of calling an extra session of the Legislature.

Mr. George R. Lamade, of the Emergency Committee, Lycoming County, Williamsport, quoted figures of distress similar in content to those reported by other counties and added, "There is one thing comes to our attention in Lycoming County which is very interesting, that is our unemployment agency has done a great deal of good through the use of an educational system in Lycoming County in retraining people out of work. Our retraining program has been a great help, a great mental help to the people out of work. Between six and eight hundred of the unemployed in Williamsport have been taking advantage of special training courses in our High School made possible through the work of the Employment Committee. I think the idea is worth consideration. Where you can't provide work you do provide mental stimulus during this period."

Miss Isabel P. Kennedy, of the Pittsburgh Community Council, Pittsburgh Federation of Social Agencies, Pittsburgh, suggested that any program adopted should take part of the present burden from the landlord as none of the present budgets allow anything for rent.

Mr. Roger F. Evans, Secretary of the State Employment Committee; Executive Secretary of the Permanent Committee on Unemployment of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia, confirmed and summarized reports of the other Philadelphia delegates. With the most recent Philadelphia statistics showing 37% of the people unemployed there is still an ominous trend upward. Since it is a dynamic question calling for permanent measures he requested that all should look ahead and consider the reconstructive measures possible.

Governor Pinchot called upon *Mrs. Liveright*, Secretary of Welfare, to make a statement before the session adjourned.

Mrs. Liveright stressed the tragedy existing in hundreds of communities where many people have not had a single penny in their hands for months, but live entirely upon the food to which a slip of paper received from a Poor Board or relief organization entitles them. She indicated that some of the counties, represented at the conference, had rather under-estimated the situation. "In one county," she said, "where it was presumed by the speaker there was no suffering, we know that for a year and a half the children have not had a drop of milk."

Mrs. Liveright then summed up the figures which had been arrived at in answer to the Governor's questionnaire concerning the length of time for which the Talbot money will last. "The expiration of the Talbot funds in August applies to districts in which 69.4 of the population of Pennsylvania resides. In November the Talbot money, according to the reports of these people, will have been used in districts in which 93.4 of the population of Pennsylvania live, so that only 7% of Pennsylvania's people live in districts where this money will last longer than November."

Governor Pinchot then addressed the meeting, commenting that "The mere showing of the need is not going to get us relief. If you people here today stop with this meeting, the meeting might just as well not have been held."
 * * * * * "The essence of the whole matter is whether it is possible to bring about another extra session which will not be such a fiasco as the first one."
 * * * * * "Whether you can produce the same conviction in the majority of the members of the Legislature. Resolutions will not do it. It must be a definite pledge." * * * * * "This situation in which the State finds itself has got to be translated into terms of funds in the Legislature, or else nothing we do is of any account. I want to have that in your minds just as clearly as I possibly can. I am personally deeply convinced of the necessity for action on a very much larger scale than is usually contemplated. I think that Pennsylvanians ought not to be subjected to the infinitely small relief that has been given them." * * * * * "I am asking you individually to bear very clearly in mind the fact that unless this meeting is translated into political action, it gets us nowhere at all."

Mr. Kingsley, of Philadelphia, moved that the representatives express their thanks and appreciation to the Governor for calling the meeting and for giving the members the opportunity to express their feelings. *Mr. Kingsley's* motion was unanimously carried.

Mr. Billikopf, who had spoken earlier of his belief that the political leaders of the State were coming to share the viewpoint of welfare and relief workers, urged that the good faith of these leaders should be put to immediate test by the calling of a conference to discuss the matter with them in the very near future.

Governor Pinchot replied that such a conference had already been called.

The resolutions committee returned to the room and Mr. Lloyd read the resolution prepared as follows:

Resolution adopted at the Unemployment Conference in the Governor's Office, Thursday, May 26, 1932:

This meeting of citizens and administrators of welfare and relief funds from counties throughout the entire Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has had presented to it facts and figures indicating that in many parts of the Commonwealth the money available for relief from both public and private sources will be completely exhausted within thirty, sixty or ninety days.

It is the sense of those present at this meeting that the immediate calling of a special session of the Legislature is absolutely necessary, and that the immediate agreement of public officials upon a definite program is essential.

Now, therefore, BE IT RESOLVED, that the persons here present hereby call upon the Governor of the State to summon the Legislature in special session at the earliest practicable moment, but that we counsel that a definite program be agreed upon by the various officials and leaders of the General Assembly; and we pledge the vigorous support of all here present to such program when agreed upon, whether it be for taxation or, if absolutely necessary, for a bond issue; and

IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Senate and House of Representatives.

The foregoing resolution was unanimously adopted.

Governor Pinchot again expressed his appreciation of the work of the conference and of the committee on resolutions, and re-emphasized his belief that unless "the political leaders can be made to see the need as we see it we will have accomplished nothing."

Present at the meeting were:

Mr. C. H. Alspach,
Reading, Pa.
(Director of Welfare Federation)

Mr. Earl S. Areford,
Uniontown, Pa.
(Fayette County Unemployment
Committee)

Mr. H. F. Baker,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Pgh. Relief & Family Welfare)

Mr. Leon P. Bennett,
Johnstown, Pa.
(President Cambria County Poor
Board)

Mr. Jacob Billikopf,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Executive Director Federation
Jewish Charities)

Mr. H. E. Bishop,
Sayre, Pa.
(Executive Secretary Hospital
Association of Pennsylvania)

Miss Charlotte E. Carr,
Harrisburg, Pa.
(Deputy Secretary of Labor and
Industry)

Mr. John F. Casey,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Emergency Association)

Rev. E. P. Caulfield,
Scranton, Pa.
(Catholic Charities)

Mrs. W. Irwin Cheyney,
Media, Pa.
(Director of the Poor of Delaware
County)

Rev. James R. Cox,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Helen Crawley,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Young Women's Christian
Association)

Rev. Eleazer Davies,
Taylor, Pa.
(Representative Taylor Welfare
Association)

Mr. Robert Dechert,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(President Community Council of
Philadelphia and Vice Chairman
Committee for Unemployment
Relief)

Mr. Karl de Schweinitz,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Executive Secretary Community
Council of Philadelphia and Sec-
retary Committee for Unemploy-
ment Relief)

Mrs. F. C. Druh,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Welfare Association)

Mr. Roger F. Evans,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Secretary State Employment Com-
mittee & Executive Secretary Per-
manent Committee on Unemploy-
ment of Philadelphia Chamber of
Commerce)

Dr. Charles H. Frazier,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Public Charities Association)

Mr. Wm. B. Harvey,
Westtown, Pa.
(Representative Chairman of Chester
County Unemployment)

Mr. E. W. Hess,
Clearfield, Pa.
(Chairman of the Community Chest)

Miss Alice Hill,
Harrisburg, Pa.
(Welfare Federation)

Mr. E. A. Hirschman,
York, Pa.
(Welfare Federation)

Mr. Clement W. Hunt,
Harrisburg, Pa.
(Deputy Secretary of Welfare)

Mrs. William A. Jaquette,
Swarthmore, Pa.
(Delaware Co. Welfare Council)

Miss Isabel P. Kennedy,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Pittsburgh Community Council)
(Pittsburgh Fed. Social Agencies)

Mr. S. C. Kingsley,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Welfare Federation)

Mr. Thomas Kennedy,
Hazleton, Pa.
(United Mine Workers of America)

Mr. R. H. Kurtz,
New York, N. Y.
(Russell Sage Foundation)

Mr. George R. Lamade,
Williamsport, Pa.
(Emergency Relief)

Mr. William R. Lantz,
Lancaster, Pa.
(Lancaster Welfare Federation)

Mr. Horatio Gates Lloyd,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Unemployment Relief Committee)

Mr. Milton R. Luft,
Wyomissing, Pa.
(Poor Director, Berks County)

Mrs. Percy C. Madeira, Jr.,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Public Charities Association)
(State Welfare Commission)

Mr. Henry Lee Mason, Jr.,
Sewickley, Pa.
(Chairman, Executive Committee
Allegheny General Hospital)
(President, Humane Society of
Western Pennsylvania)

Mr. Philip Mathews,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Allegheny County Emergency Assn.

Mr. W. F. Maxwell,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Welfare Fund)

Mrs. R. Allison Miller,
Huntingdon, Pa.
(Huntingdon Co. American Red
Cross)

Miss Janet C. Moore,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Bur. Unemployment Relief)

Mr. Richard M. Neustadt,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(State Employment Commission)

Hon. Fred W. Patterson,
New Brighton, Pa.

Mr. John A. Phillips,
Harrisburg, Pa.
(President, Pa. Federation of Labor)

Mr. John Reid,
Oil City, Pa.
(Unemployment Committee of
Chamber of Commerce)

Mr. Howard Richards,
Pottsville, Pa.
(Schuylkill Co. Unemployment
Committee)

Mr. Charles D. Rockel,
Altoona, Pa.
(Emergency Relief)

Mr. B. T. Root,
York, Pa.
(York Welfare Federation)

Miss Gertrude Schermerhorn,
1725 Spruce Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Pa. League of Women Voters)

Mrs. Leonce Shields,
Reedsville, Pa.
(Pres. Mifflin Co. Directors of Poor)

Dr. J. M. Smith,
Hahnemann Hospital,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Hospital Assn. of Pa.)

Mr. Smith,
Altoona, Pa.
(Emergency Relief)

Mr. I. J. Stock,
Shenandoah, Pa.
(Shenandoah Welfare Asso.)

Mr. Hale Steinman,
Lancaster, Pa.
(Lancaster Welfare Association)

Mr. John L. Stewart,
Washington, Pa.
(Social Agencies of Wash. Co.)

F. R. Stilwell,
Harrisburg, Pa.
(Dept. of Welfare)

Mr. E. Arthur Sweeny,
Greensburg, Pa.
(Westmoreland Co. Unemployment
Committee)

Mr. Carter Taylor,
Harrisburg, Pa.
(Direc. Harrisburg Welfare
Federation)

Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Dept. of Welfare)

Rev. William J. Walsh,
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
(Catholic Charities)

Mr. Webster Powell,
Harrisburg, Pa.
(Dept. of Welfare)

Mr. Dwight W. Weist,
Scranton, Pa.
(Community Welfare Federation)

Mr. H. M. Willis,
3225 W. Ridge Road,
Erie, Pa.
(Chr. Erie County Unemployment
Committee)

Mr. Seibert L. Witman,
Reading, Pa.
(Dir. Unemployment Committee
Berks County)

Mr. Martin Yadusky,
Shenandoah, Pa.
(Welfare Association)

Mr. G. Walter Zulant,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Supt. Allegheny Gen'l. Hospital)